

Community



Chicago's Lake Meadows Project Disproves Theory of Tipping Point

"... we have an instance of a white population increasing from two per cent to 30 per cent ..."

Housing

THE MAY ISSUE of *Fortune* announced a radically new theory of the nature of color—not race but color generally. Recent discoveries by Dr. Land, the inventor of the picture-in-a-minute Polaroid Camera, have completely upset the notions of color's cause accepted since their development by Sir Issac Newton almost three centuries ago. The fascinating point made in *Fortune's* reporting is that the discoveries made by Land had been made by others 40 years ago. So strong was the influence of Newtonian optics that the earlier discoveries were ignored. The 1915 discoveries were explained away as eye strain as were other apparent exceptions to Newton's theories ever since their general acceptance.

This tale should give us pause. Ideas do have power, even wrong ideas. In race relations we are currently confronted with an idea that has wide public acceptance and which is currently being given support in academic and intellectual circles. It is an idea which can be proven inadequate by a solid, existing exception.

"The Tip Point"

If you have followed recent litera-

ture in the field you have undoubtedly noticed increasingly frequent references to "tipping mechanism," "tip point," and "tipping a neighborhood." The idea intended by these terms is simple. When a minority group reaches a certain proportion in a neighborhood that minority group will inevitably take over the whole neighborhood. The minority group will take over because of a low level of tolerance on the part of whites to the presence of Negroes. The "tip point," or level of tolerance, has some slight flexibility depending on the education and good will of the majority. However, for all neighborhoods there is a level of tolerance to minority group members *per se* which cannot be exceeded without the neighborhood's changing. Simply put, whites will accept Negroes only in very weak dilution.

The principle publicist of the "tip point" is Dr. Morton Grodzins, a political scientist at the University of Chicago, who uses this idea as part of his analysis of race problems in Northern metropolitan areas. His theories have been given wide audience in a number of publications. Because he

has so clearly stated many of the broader ramifications of residential segregation he has well deserved this attention. Grodzins' audience is a liberal and educated one. In October of 1957 an article by him entitled "Metropolitan Segregation" appeared in the *Scientific American*, an excellent magazine for the educated lay person. In January of 1959 the Fiftieth Anniversary issue of the liberal journal, *Progressive* included his article, "Segregation in the North." Last year the University of Pittsburgh Press published a 28 page pamphlet by Grodzins entitled "The Metropolitan Area as a Race Problem." In Chicago that pamphlet has made the rounds of the agencies interested in race, generously recommended from one professional to another.

Examination Needed

It is in the context of such wide acceptance that the Grodzins' idea of the "tip point" must be examined. He is undoubtedly reaching people whose opinions can have long range effects on social policy. Furthermore, his an-

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EDITORIAL

On Proposed Movie of Blessed Martin



WE RECENTLY had a discussion with Mr. Bryan Foy, a movie producer for Columbia Pictures Corporation, in which he described his efforts of late to film the life of Blessed Martin de Porres. His employers have not given him permission to go into production because they are not convinced that it would succeed at the box office.

A script has been prepared, we have not seen it; and even if we had, we would not feel competent to judge its artistic merits. However, we feel the movie could have significant sociological value. It could help to allay the anti-Catholic sentiment in parts of the Negro community that is based on the feeling that the Catholic Church is a "white church." In the words of Father Norbert Georges, O.P., of the Blessed Martin Guild, such a movie would "publicly prove to the non-white world that the Church was really Catholic and that our heaven was home for all men—not just for whites."

On this basis, we urge Columbia to allow Mr. Foy to proceed. If any of our readers wish to express themselves on this, Mr. Foy can be addressed at 1438 North Gower Street, Hollywood, California.

—JEB

READERS WRITE:

Dear Editors:

In your April issue you high-light the work of the California and Ohio AFL-CIO bodies in fighting for State FEP.

In Illinois the organized labor movement is right in front of the fight for current FEP or Equal Job Opportunities legislation. The top officers and legislative representatives of the Illinois State AFL-CIO, and such unions as the United Steelworkers of America, the UAW, and the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks are on the job in giving their constant cooperation in concert with the Illinois Committee for Job Opportunities.

In key Senatorial districts in the State, every labor leader who is called upon to provide facilities for district work or to put his influence where it is needed, responds promptly.

State AFL-CIO, Cook County Industrial Union Council, and the Chicago Federation

of Labor are communicating with their affiliated locals urging specific cooperation and action towards the passage of the FEP bill.

Your publication, as always, continues to be full of vital information. With best wishes

Sincerely yours,

AARON ARONIN
Field Director
Jewish Labor Committee
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Editors:

I am happy to renew my subscription. Your paper keeps me abreast of events.

As an old "Visiting Vol" of the Washington House, I do wish for more news on what Friendship House itself is doing.

Remember me in your prayers. In July I return to North Carolina to begin my priestly work. Together with my classmate Rev. Mr. Joseph Howge who will be ordained Ascension Day, we will be the first Negro diocesan priests in the diocese. As far as I can ascertain also the first in a large area of the South, excluding Louisiana.

Let us pray for one another.

Sincerely yours,

FATHER THOMAS HADDEN
North American College
Vatican City, Europe

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

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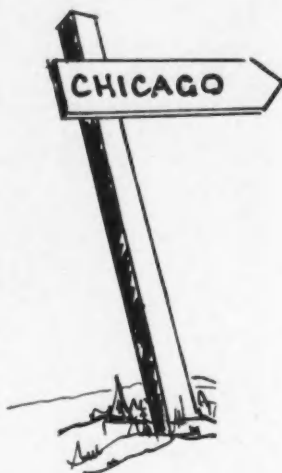
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• **MADLINE JOYCE STRAIGHT** is on the staff of the Mayor's Committee on New Residents in Chicago.

• **DONALD P. COSTELLO**, appearing for the second time in **COMMUNITY**, is the film critic for **TODAY** Magazine.

• **JEAN HESS**, who regularly writes "Views," is a librarian in Louisville, Kentucky.

Friendship House Summer Sessions To Highlight Interracial Justice



Join in Special Programs
Learn Christian Approach
and Have a Vacation, Too.

Weeks in Chicago

Three In-Service Training Weeks will be held at Friendship House, Chicago. Come to—

- ... join in the daily work at Friendship House and in FH's own special programs to breakdown prejudices and effect peaceful stable interracial neighborhoods.
- ... learn the fundamentals of interracial work, investigating problems and planning a Christian approach.
- ... many friends have invited you in for informal chats on—the liturgy, working for a better community, what an interracial club can do, opportunities in political life, how segregation started in the United States.
- ... and there will be time for visits with other lay groups active in Chicago.

July 6-10
July 13-17
Aug. 17-21

Weekends at Childerley Farm

Childerley Farm, 35 miles northwest of Chicago, is a perfect setting for informal learning, participation in the liturgy together, relaxation—and renewal.

Come—

for an introduction to interracial justice,
"You—and a new loved world," July 10-12
to dig deep for immediate actions,
"You—and the present moment," August 21-23

July 10-12
Aug. 21-23

WORKSHOPS WILL INCLUDE—the personal and group approach to interracial justice, adapting Friendship House's own unique programs to your town, your stake in civil rights, approaches in the South.

Our chaplain, **Monsignor Daniel M. Cantwell**, will be with us for his insights into the spiritual basis of the apostolate, for an opportunity to participate in Holy Mass, the Divine Office, and in the moving experience of a Bible Vigil.

OTHER "FACULTY" for the weeks and weekends include: **Monsignor Reynold Hillenbrand**, National Chaplain of the Christian Family Movement and the Young Christian Workers; **Margaret Garrity**, Regional Director of the President's Committee on Government Contracts; **Ted Cobb**, Director of Community Services Department of the Chicago Urban League; **Ed Dixon** on liturgical participation; **Emery and Beth Biro**, social action couple since college days in Detroit; and many **Friendship House** volunteers and former staff with years of experience in interracial work.

FEES:

Tuition for each in-service training week is \$10. Friendship House will be happy to make room arrangements for you. Meals can be family-style in the FH kitchen.

... Tuition, room, and board for each country weekend is \$15. Special rates—to married couples, \$25; to religious and seminarians, \$12.

... A scholarship fund has been started to assist those unable to pay full cost. May we urge you to apply right away, if necessary.

Yes, you may apply for any and all of the sessions. Limited registration. Betty Plank, Friendship House, 4233 South Indiana Avenue, Chicago 53, Illinois.

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FH Director Envisions Full-time N. Y. Staff; Program of Workshops, Info Center, Housing

Mary Dolan Details Ideas, Plans and Goals in New York Speech

MAY I MAKE a confession? I have always had a prejudice against New York City. Born and bred middle-westerner that I am, I had never enjoyed visits here . . . had come only when necessary for business, and left as soon as possible. Well, this visit has changed me in that one respect at least. I will be leaving in a day or two, but for the first time I will leave New York City with real regret.

I have—on this trip—found an unprecedented, even unexpected warmth and devotion, under great handicaps, to Friendship House and all it stands for. I have been deeply impressed with what you have done these past several years. You are too close to it, I know, to appreciate it. And you have an impatience, a yearning to do more. This is good; this is as it should be . . . we can never be satisfied, nor rest on our past, on our laurels.

But I would remind you tonight that it is good to review occasionally, to reflect on accomplishments.

FH Program Involves...



...Worship...



...Study...



...Discussion...

Real Support

Some of you probably feel that you have done very little. Many of you are in circumstances which simply do not permit your coming frequently to Friendship House. But I want to emphasize that your moral support and your enthusiasm can be a real—and essential—contribution to Friendship House.

Just look over 1958 . . . let's enjoy this review together:

Throughout the year — Selling **COMMUNITY**; Keeping House open part-time as information center; Maintenance physically, and part of financial.

January — Epiphany party; Communion breakfast and speaker; Forum.

February — Twentieth anniversary party; Story in **COMMUNITY** on New York House; Preparing and mailing 1,000 letters on State Fair Housing Bill.

March — Day of Recollection; Forum. Also two programs specially arranged for a (YCW) group.

April — Paschal supper; Workshop; Forum.

May — Planning meetings; Forum.

June — Planning picnic; Work weekend at Farm.

July — Study weekend at Farm.

August — Study weekend at Farm.

September — Letters to other organizations offering programs.

October — Work weekend at Farm.

November — Forum.

December — Advent workshop.

I know the mention of these various programs brings back memories to you. While I did not participate in any of them, I can readily envision the character of them . . . and know that they were valuable and fruitful—to those who arranged them, and to those who participated.

More than Useful

And not only have these had this usefulness. Even beyond this: the fact of such activities has kept Friendship House in existence.

This makes possible a search for a staff person.

During this period Chicago Friendship House has had a chance to develop. We have been of little—if any—help to you in the past one and one-half years. We can now be of some help—my presence here is perhaps the best evidence of this. Though I am sure both you and I realize that visits by a Chicago worker will not be enough. There must be a worker here, in charge, with authority and responsibility for coordinating the work.

Has Head Start

Fortunately such a worker will not need to start from zero. He can draw on your work and on the Chicago experience . . . not just a rigid imitation, necessarily, but at least a beginning point, a jumping-off point. So let me tell you in a bit more detail the nature of the Chicago activities:

- Information center, clearing house. Occasional forums for general public. Maintenance financially, physically. Lecturing. (Specific National Office programs, including publication of **COMMUNITY**.)

- Particularized programs for groups, most of these being Visiting Workshops. This is a uniquely Friendship House program, growing out of personalized knowledge and experience, reaching out to more and more people, especially those in outlying areas. Visiting Workshops are an introduction to race relations . . . for the prejudiced a challenge . . . for the good-willed, a commitment.

(These have no programmed follow-up. Some of this occurs of itself. But we limit ourselves—as a program—to providing this initial introductory experience, so we can reach more groups. We realize that a Visiting Workshop, of itself, does not do EVERYTHING. But what one-evening program does? Invaluable within its limitations.)

- Deeper, long-range work. Due to past staff shortage, this has been limited, but just before I left Chicago to come here, we were initiating plans to form a second group. We call this a "Community Relations" program. Two considerations brought us to it: (1) Servicing volunteers WHERE they are—helping them to be effective in their neighborhoods. (2) Seeing that housing patterns are CENTRAL to race relations.

Significant Program

These three areas add up, we think, to a useful, significant program. We do not expect it to eliminate or absorb all other groups—apostolic groups, race relations groups. We do expect that Friendship House will make its particular, indispensable contribution in both areas.

I should add that your programs of Advent workshops and Epiphany parties suggest to me something that we will probably want to incorporate into the Chicago programs. There is a value in having a facet—not all, but a facet—of Friendship House program in an area that is not directly focussed on intergroup tensions. Hopefully this can involve people who, because of the value of the program itself, will participate . . . if you'll pardon the ex-

pression . . . in spite of the interracial character—and will experience interracial living in the occasion. I repeat: tempting as it may be at times, we cannot limit ourselves to this—we cannot forget that there must be direct work on racial issues. But for our own development, for a well-rounded program, we need and can benefit from this facet, too.

So there you have it. A format for: Friendship House, Its Work and Place in the Fight for Interracial Justice.

Challenging Program

I hope you will agree with me that it is a challenging, a satisfying (in the right sense—one that we can commit ourselves to; not in the sense that we will rest there, or that we will never adapt and change) program. One that, I also hope you will agree, can be ex-



Eric Gill

pected to attract a staff worker—with the necessary qualifications—to develop Friendship House here.

We expect to pay such a person enough to cover room and board at least, in the beginning. Nor do we intend to stay at this minimal level as to salary, but as soon as possible increase such an amount to a modest salary.

Perhaps I should add here: we do not see working towards salary as the only way to find dedicated workers. Certainly Friendship House in the past had dozens of deeply, fully dedicated workers, who did not receive a salary. But we have come to face the fact that such a life is not humanly possible for a long period of time. And we want Friendship House to be a situation possible for a long-term work . . . and long-term workers, rather than an abnormal, exceptional kind of thing. But I am sure you see this matter, too.

Confident of Future

So I look at New York Friendship House with great esteem and affection tonight. I look at it with confidence in its future.

Meanwhile I see its existence justified with the present extent of program—an occasional (say, once-every-third-month) program on the liturgy; regularly (say, once-a-month) a forum on racial problems, offering information and discussion on these issues . . . and, I would hope to see, regularly (setting a goal, perhaps, of once-every-two-months, or even monthly) a specific program arranged for another group—which helps to keep us reaching out to others, drawing others into Friendship House's ideas, goals, values.

Let us dedicate ourselves anew to this present program and to the immediate objective of recruiting a qualified staff worker. Let us do it, with new enthusiasm and dedication, knowing that God who is the father of all men blesses our effort, helps us work, as we seek to bring to others a share in our own realization that interracial living, God-centered interracial living, is possible and attainable, with our cooperation, in our time.

—Mary Dolan



...and Fun.

Archbishop Meyer Discusses Need For Integrated Housing

Tells Federal Civil Rights Commission "we must eliminate the housing shortage of Negroes...we must have community organizations to ensure that Negroes do gain access to our communities..."

IT MIGHT PERHAPS be shown that the days we are living through are not dissimilar to the painful and turbulent ones of the Reconstruction Epoch. The question arises whether or not we must anticipate another thirty-year period of experiment and failure until we learn to put this new Emancipation Proclamation into effect. Only the yet undiscovered future will satisfactorily answer the question, but, if the reasoning of the Catholic Bishops be correct, we are no longer permitted to adopt a detached attitude of "wait and see." Otherwise it would be unlikely that they would say, as they did, "... these problems are vital and urgent. May God give this nation the grace to meet the challenge it faces. For the sake of generations of future Americans, and indeed of all humanity, we cannot fail." These exigent and prayerful words were not composed lightly, nor would their authors use language of such vigor unless they believed it is incumbent upon us to act now.

Unhappily, many of us who have studied the problem have learned that it is easier to apprehend and acknowledge the moral law than to give it effect. Our duty appears clear enough but the means of carrying it out uncertain. Perhaps the remarks of the American Catholic Bishops on how to proceed may be of use to us when they say "it is a sign of wisdom, rather than weakness, to study carefully the problems we face, to prepare for advances, and to by-pass the non-essential if it interferes with essential progress. We may well deplore a gradualism that is merely a cloak for inaction. But we equally deplore rash impetuosity that would sacrifice the achievements of decades in ill-timed and ill-considered ventures."

If we are to accept this wise advice, we must attempt to establish what is possible to accomplish now and what is manifestly out of the question at this time. By so doing, we ought to be able to distinguish between what the Bishops saw fit to call "gradualism that is merely a cloak for inaction" and "ill-timed and ill-considered ventures."

Middle Class Negroes

It is indisputable that America now boasts of many Negroes who have made the ascent into the middle classes. Negro college graduates and professionals of every sort there is do not constitute the rarity they did only a short twenty years ago. As the Catholic Bishops pointed out, there have been "great and even spectacular advances." It is no longer possible to speak of some distant time when there may be a significant number of Negroes who by education, economic position or style of life will be able to live as other American citizens do. We now have many such people teaching in the classrooms of our universities, pleading cases in our law courts, performing operations in our hospitals, and in short doing work that only the highest

intelligences most perfectly trained are capable of.

Has this new and rapidly increasing Negro middle class been able to choose its place of residence as the children of our European immigrants were able to do? Does the fully competent Negro person have the option we alluded to above? Unfortunately, the only honest answer we can give it, at best, is a qualified no. In some very few instances, notably where new communities have been erected in their entirety, Negroes have been able to purchase or rent on the same terms as their white fellow citizen. Yet in Chicago, as in many other places, we are forced to conclude such examples are distressingly rare.

In our opinion, gradualism would be "merely a cloak for inaction" if we do not turn our immediate attention to

on the basis of like-mindedness of a community of interests. Such distinctions are normal and constitute a universal social phenomenon. They are accidental, however, and are subject to change as conditions change." Thus it is the restrictions against the most capable and self-reliant portions of the Negro population which call the loudest for remedy and which must be rectified most speedily.

Complete Desegregation

Although it is true there are now large numbers of Negroes in an economic position to leave their segregated communities quite easily, that does not absolve us of our duty to continue to work for a complete desegregation. It is unthinkable that the accident of wealth and opportunity should serve as a criterion for enjoy-



the legitimate claims of middle class Negroes who wish to leave the ghetto or ethnic neighborhood. They have shown, like their predecessors of European extraction, that they possess the educational, social and economic ability to step from the wings of our national life on to the central stage.

Termination Not Simple

We all must wish, work and pray for the disappearance of all disabling restrictions based on race, religion and national ancestry, but such evils cannot easily be terminated at a stroke. We ought to concentrate and insist on the not inconsiderable accomplishments that could be ours now.

This, it seems, is the case with residential integration. The Negro middle classes ought to have the choice of leaving the ethnic community if they so wish, nor is it rash on our part to suggest that the time has come for practical measures to that end.

"We urge," the Catholic Hierarchy said, "that concrete plans in this field be based on prudence." They added that "Prudence may be called a virtue that inclines us to view problems in their proper perspective. It aids us to use the proper means to secure our aims." The November, 1958 statement also quite correctly observed that "among all races and national groups, class distinctions are inevitably made

ing the rights of citizenship.

It remains to discuss how we might gain the end we seek.

Until the late forties or early fifties the great majority of the rising Negro population in Chicago was obliged to wedge itself in a confined territorial area the borders of which expanded but slowly. Because of the court decisions making the restrictive covenant un-enforceable and because of the quickly augmenting purchasing power of the Negro population, the more recent years have seen the Negro areas of the city grow with alacrity. There seems to be little doubt that, if nothing else, the expansion of the Negro ghetto has alleviated the housing shortage which has been visited on many Negroes in the city. It has not, we are compelled to note, eliminated it.

Whites Have Fled

While the opportunities for Negroes to rent or purchase more adequate housing have increased as the substantially all-Negro areas of the city have grown, there has been only the slightest observable diminution in the degree of racial, residential segregation. It would appear that most communities have made little or no effort to absorb a number of Negroes whose social backgrounds, occupations and standard of living is comparable to that of the white inhabitants. Where it might have been hoped that the white population

would stay, they have fled. Some districts have even reported a total depopulation and repopulation within the incredibly short space of twenty-four months.

The first Negroes to move into many of these once white communities were people whose last thought was to drive the original inhabitants away. In many cases the first Negroes to arrive were individuals who wanted to leave the old ethnic community because they thought, and were right in so thinking, that they had much more in common with the people into whose neighborhoods they were moving. Nevertheless the old inhabitants vanished. Worse yet, there have been occasional outbreaks of violence.

If we were to say that many of Chicago's communities were unprepared to solve this great national problem, who is to point out a city that was prepared? In some communities where white people lived a short time ago, instead of organization for constructive purposes, there was rumor, myth, and eventually fear finally giving way to panic. Some people thought that admission of a Negro into a heretofore white community would depress the value of their properties by throwing them all on the market at once. Stories were circulated that if a single Negro moved into a community no matter how fine the individual might be, that the inhabitants would flee.

Pervaded with Gloom

Under the circumstances, the white neighborhoods near the evergrowing Negro ghetto were pervaded with gloom and confusion. People freely predicted the present inhabitants would be gone in two, five or ten years. As more people prophesied an inauspicious future, not only the communities' people but their institutions, banks, churches, businesses, and schools began to act as though this soothsaying was demonstrated fact.

Some few involved themselves in impractical schemes to buy property lest it be sold to Negro purchasers. Others let themselves listen to rash and uninformed men. Most did nothing but prepare themselves psychologically for abandoning the various communities. Some began to leave even before any Negroes had come. There were people who spoke of communities near the Negro areas as "threatened," and thereby discouraged other white people from moving in. The copstone of uncertainty, gloom, and confusion are the few individuals in the city known as "block-busters," men who are accused of fostering community panic in order to manipulate real estate prices artificially and thereby gain a profit.

We are, therefore, forced to the conclusion that the forebodings of the white population came true in a number of instances because they made them come true. By predicting the worst, the worst came to pass. Had there been cooperation between individuals, between churches, between business institutions; had there been



planning, had there been constructive programming of many different kinds, we believe that many communities could have been stabilized so that a truly free market would have been created. A free market would have permitted the entrance into white middle class communities of a proportion of Negro families who could only be considered an asset in any neighborhood.

These communities or individuals who have attempted to press on and enforce outmoded policies have discovered the price of such actions in the creation of a sequence of events within the community that leads inevitably, as we pointed out above, to its disappearance.

Segregation—Destructive

Residential segregation is destructive, wasteful, and if the truth be said, the unjust processes need not be infinite. Our course of action can be based on something more substantial than *faute de mieux*.

"... We hope and earnestly pray that responsible and soberminded Americans of all religious faiths... will seize the mantle of leadership from the agitator and the racist" were the words of our Bishops. This hope and



this prayer are not extravagant. Our communities are capable of far seeing and united action. The individuals in them, their businesses and industries, our Catholic parishes, the Protestant churches, the Synagogues and Temples have the leadership and ability to work out a variety of forms of local cooperation in order to stabilize the populations, to control and guide conservation and development, and to make sure Negroes of like economic and social backgrounds do gain admission in a manner that is harmonious, and a credit to us as Christians and Americans.

The lynch-pin of our difficulties is the acknowledgment of the interplay of forces in our communities. The simple introduction of Negroes must continue to result in white depopulation, and the consequent enlargement of segregation, unless it is clearly understood that, in the community our "racial problem" is securely tied to the physical and social conditions, to morale, to controlling irresponsible real estate speculation and discriminatory financing, to all aspects of community life.



Disunited Areas Incapable

Disunited communities that lack cohesiveness, over-all organization of some description, and effective and informed leadership of the highest calibre are not capable of responding either to the imperatives of the racial situation or of the general urban crisis that in fact is so closely allied to it.

We cannot afford to neglect the fact that the housing shortage for Negroes measureably complicates our efforts toward desegregation. The pressure generated by the shortage results in Negroes coming into white areas in numbers so large that, instead of gaining integration, we discover we have merely extended the segregated enclave.

Exactly what an "integrated" community might be, no one, we believe, can say with certainty. Obviously it is one in which significant numbers of people of both the major races reside.

Two Remedies

Among the remedies at our disposal, two recommend themselves. First, we must eliminate the housing shortage for Negroes. Secondly, we must have community organization to ensure that Negroes do gain access to our communities, but not to the degree that we merely extend the boundaries of the racial ghetto.

Our communities will, we believe, learn that they must dispose their human and material resources in such a fashion that they are the masters of the trends of the time, rather than allow circumstances to master them. As communities gain a control over their own future, they shall be excellently situated for seeing to it that Negroes are welcomed in a number and manner that will both assure them continued existence and growth, and at the same time accord to the Negro middle classes the rights that are incontestably theirs.

As times change we must change ourselves. The older practices of unilateral action are not suited for this complex era. No single person, interest, church or group can be the sole custodian of our communities. It will be necessary for representative interests to discover how they can plan, work and meet the future together.

Heart of Question

"The heart of the race question is moral and religious. It concerns the rights of man and our attitude toward our fellow men." So spoke our American Roman Catholic Hierarchy. And they are right in what they say, for there comes an end to the effectiveness of legislation or the value of organized action. Every person must inquire into the moral problem by himself, alone. Even so, it remains our pastoral duty to urge all not to postpone the inner examination upon which, in the last analysis, the ultimate solution depends.

We should like to thank the honorable Commissioners for their gracious invitation to testify. We know the importance of the Commission's work, and only hope that our testimony will be of some service. It is our intention to do all we can to encourage and aid programs of the nature we have been describing, but, as the gentlemen here know full well, the problems we face are not the sort that lend themselves to facile correction. Nevertheless we trust you will do us the kindness of repeating your visit, at which time we can report progress that will do honor to God and the nation.

(Partial text of a talk before the President's Commission on Civil Rights in Chicago on May 6. Presented by Msgr. John Egan for the Most Rev. Albert Gregory Meyer, Archbishop of Chicago.)

Miss. 'Imitation of Life'-Immensely Inferior "Dishonest..Bathos..Mushy Good-Will"

IMITATION OF LIFE is a movie which is strongly a type. It attempts to deal with the real world in unreal terms: it is thus a soap opera. Its very type is immensely inferior to other types of entertainment, for it is dishonest.

The real issues which are treated in *Imitation of Life* are important issues. It tells a story of an actress (Lana Turner) who neglects to give love and attention to her daughter (Sandra Dee); and it contrasts this with the story of a devoted Negro mother (Juanita Moore) who is rejected by her white-skinned racially-conscious daughter (Susan Kohner). Racial injustice, materialism, selfish neglect of children, and death are, to be sure, important and dramatic issues. But the film distorts them by over-simplification and then cheapens them by over-statement. It smothers its real world with excruciatingly sentimental and melodramatic excesses. When, for example, the boy friend of the young Negro girl discovers that she has a Negro mother he does not, in his shame and anger, slap her or revile her—he punches her and beats her and slugs her while she screeches and screams, and her nose bleeds all over the CinemaScope screen, and the music blares and pounds. When the gentle old Negro woman is dying, she gives away one-by-one each of her precious possessions; then, after her tear-drenched death, Lana Turner screams and wails and moans and claws the body. The real drama in the real issues is lost: any moderator viewer says, "Come off it."

Producer Ross Hunter, perhaps the most vocal and belligerent of the Hollywood philistines, calls *Imitation of Life* a "woman's picture." If I were a woman, I'd sue. He says that women control movie-going, and so he produces movies intended merely to have an immediate effect of laughter or tears. His slickly-made movies show a phenomenal contempt for his female viewers: he thinks they will miss the point if he doesn't clobber them with a mallet. He trounces his audiences with sentiment, lets them wallow in it, and, sad to say, usually succeeds through the sheer force of crudity in drowning them with tears. His movies are just the meat for anyone who wears her emotions on her sleeve. The audience at *Imitation of Life* was, I think, more deeply convulsed with sobs than any audience I've heard since Hunter's outrageous *Magnificent Obsession*. This bathos, of course, has proved intensely pleasing to the engulflingly prolific novelist Fannie Hurst, who wrote the original story of which this is the second movie version. In a public statement Miss Hurst says that she "quite shamelessly recommends this movie." Shamelessly.

Dishonest Racial Issue

Imitation of Life is a clever movie in giving a sentimentally inclined audience what it wants. It is adequately acted—even by Lana Turner, at least in her big scenes when her emotions are able to break through the waxen mask of beauty which she always seems to wear over her real self. The film is pretty and professional, and Director Douglas Sirk always knows precisely what he is about. But always the dishonesty at the heart of *Imitation of Life* shows itself—especially in the fact that its central racial issue is exploited for cheap effects rather than honestly faced. Susan Kohner's attempt to "pass" becomes the basic issue; yet so minor is this as a social problem that merely to mention it is to over-emphasize it. Yet "passing" strikes a conventional white audience as terribly dramatic, and even a bit spooky. It confirms their fears and even lets

them feel that blame is to be laid not on a hating population, but on a dishonest failure to "stay with your own." Even the sympathetic character of Annie, the devoted servant, is socially offensive. She partakes of the submissive "good nigger" stereotype, and, even after a life of contact with the most cultured, refined, sophisticated people, retains a Negro folklore quality that shows itself in her desire for white horses and brass bands at her funeral. Perhaps the movie didn't intend all of these unfavorable racial implications, but *Imitation of Life* shows how completely tastelessness corrupts. Art and society suffer under the demand for an immediate emotion-mashing effect. Yet Ross Hunter's very cleverness, his ability to exploit the tastes of a mass market, his proven sure-fire formula, is certain again to capture many plaudits. Many an uncritical viewer will not feel put upon, will not feel the dishonesty or contempt in the film. Indeed, the general result of the movie will probably be a kind of mushy good-will.

—Donald P. Costello
Motion Picture Critic,
TODAY Magazine

Views

Memphis, Tennessee — Joseph Terry Boyd, hospital corpsman at Memphis Naval Air Station, has been enrolled in Memphis State University as its first Negro student, said M.S.U.'s president, J. M. Smith.

Boyd, who entered the university last month at the school's base extension, said that he plans to enroll for classes on the campus after his discharge next year. He has already qualified by passing his entrance examination.

Meanwhile, a suit filed by the N.A.A.C.P. seeking integration at Memphis State, is still pending in Federal Court here.

Miami Beach, Florida — Tension over integration in the South will decrease considerably within the next ten years, in the opinion of Democratic National Chairman Paul M. Butler.

There are three factors, he believes, that are working toward this end: The efforts of various groups working in the churches; State court decisions; the industrialization of the Southern states "bringing in new people who will require assurances of operation of the public school system."

New York, New York — A play written, directed, and acted by a predominately-Negro cast (a single white man appears in the play) has been voted the best American play on Broadway of the 1958-59 season. "A Raisin in the Sun," written by Lorraine Hansberry, and starring Sidney Poitier, received the award from the New York Drama Critics Circle.

Critics have acclaimed the play "... a first rate performance," "An impressive first play, beautifully acted," "Another smash hit."

Indianapolis, Indiana — Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, told the United Negro College Fund in convocation here that woman suffrage aroused the same sort of protests forty years ago that racial integration does today.

Like the franchise for women, Editor McGill believes the Negro's place in his community will ultimately be accepted.

"We often hear it said that one cannot legislate prejudice out of existence.

(Continued on Page 8)

BOOK REVIEWS

Rosy Race Relations Related But Sacrifices Depth to Breadth

"What's Right" merely reminds me of what's wrong with our social order . . ."

WHAT'S RIGHT WITH RACE RELATIONS, by Harriet Harmon Dexter. New York: Harper and Brothers, 248 pp. \$4.00.

TO PERSONS working daily against racial discrimination and prejudice and forced to see so much that is wrong, it may be cheerful news that someone has written a book entitled *What's Right With Race Relations*. Prodigious labor must have gone into the collecting of so vast a number of anecdotes, quotations, and personal testimonials as one finds in this volume. While Mrs. Dexter summarizes briefly the history and present state of discrimination suffered by several different racial groups—e.g., the Japanese, Chinese, American Indian, etc.—she is mainly concerned with the present-day tensions between the Negro and the white races in the United States.

The author finds grounds for an optimistic point of view in nearly every area of modern life; she reports progress toward desegregation, for example, in schools and colleges, labor, housing, transportation, sports and recreation, the armed forces, and the churches. She describes steps on the road to civil rights from 1915, when the United States Supreme Court declared the grandfather clause unconstitutional, to 1954, when the Court ruled that to exclude Mexicans from juries in Texas was unconstitutional. She sees the latter decision as especially significant because it set a precedent for non-white peoples as well as Mexicans. Indeed, one of the chief sources of her optimism lies in the nationwide legislative advances made during the last twenty years, from city ordinances covering fair employment practices to the crucial 1954 ruling of the United States Supreme Court on integration in the public schools.

"... personal prejudice will make people argue long and inveigh loudly, but when the social conscience is solidified into law, objections are reduced to a whisper and finally die out. . . . Slow as is

the process of court decisions, it is nevertheless by this method that people of color in the United States have been gradually winning the right to exercise the privileges of citizenship. The courtroom has become the setting for the drama of civil rights."

Certainly the statutory advances that have been made are all to the good. Even where they have not yet been adequately enforced, laws that define and support civil liberties exert a salutary moral influence on the social order. When Mrs. Dexter roots her optimism in legislative enactments, it is a well-founded optimism, and the reader feels justifiably heartened.

Partly Subjective

Throughout the twenty rather discrete chapters of the volume, however, the descriptions of laws and ordinances are combined with reports of an entirely different nature, reports derived, not from such impersonal and objective sources as statute books, but from the opinions and impressions of selected individuals in communities all over the country. The anecdotes thus derived are often enlightening, occasionally memorable, but not always valid. It is almost inevitable that any individual, even with the highest attempt at candor, will give a subjective and partial evaluation of conditions in his own community; he will speak from his own personal experience. This is a familiar weakness of the anecdotal method of reporting. For example, my own partial knowledge of two Chicago communities described by the author persuades me that quite different descriptions would have emerged from additional interviews with persons in these same communities.

While there is some value in the wide picture given in this book, it is possible that depth is sacrificed to breadth. Without more careful and sustained study than is usually given to drawing this kind of composite picture, misleading impressions may be given. An example of this occurs in the author's description of conditions

in Louisiana. She points out that in countless communities the Catholic Church has insisted that segregation must be eliminated and, as illustration, she cites the order issued some ten years ago by Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel that FOR COLORED ONLY signs be removed from pews in Catholic churches throughout the New Orleans area. She says that in 1955, despite this diocesan policy, actual violence broke out in one of the churches under Archbishop Rummel's jurisdiction when "two white women beat a third woman because she was teaching the catechism to white and Negro children together." Mrs. Dexter adds that the two women were promptly excommunicated and though this ban was later lifted, the point had been driven home. One gathers that the people had learned a lesson. This anecdote gives the impression that conditions must be better in New Orleans now than they were ten years ago when the order for integration was issued, or at least better than they were four years ago when the sentence of excommunication was decreed. Yet in the March, 1959 issue of *COMMUNITY*, Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel himself is quoted as follows: "Daily we are reminded that the racial controversy is growing in intensity and bitterness. It would indeed be a calamity to our nation were we to become permanently divided. . . ." (Bold mine.) The Archbishop's fiery words ignite our minds to reality, but what happens to the cheery journalistic title, "What's Right With Race Relations?"

Not All Cheerful

It would not be fair to imply that Mrs. Dexter's book is composed entirely of cheerful anecdotes. In one of the best chapters of the volume, entitled "The Road to Civil Rights," she describes the "cat-and-mouse game of politics" engaged in for the purpose of delaying full civil rights to Negroes, and points out that even after legal obstructions to voting were removed, "in many communities by common consent of the majority of white people 'our way of doing things' remained the established way." Moreover, scattered through the book are flashes of insight such as her statement, "Some one wills better race relations," and her analysis of segregation as "a state of mind."

"Segregation as practiced in the United States has not been an attempt to keep people apart. Nor is it today. It is an attempt to keep them separate in those relationships where togetherness would

suggest equality. In a segregated society members of two races may work together as long as one does labor subservient to the other. Two races may live in adjoining neighborhoods with equanimity as long as their houses are separated by an alley rather than facing each other across an avenue. Members of two races may prepare a meal together but one of them must eat in the kitchen. The races may worship the same God if they do so in separate buildings; or even perhaps in the same sanctuary if an invisible line separates their seating."

Marketplace Values

We are quite ready to believe with Mrs. Dexter that every occasion of improved "race relations" spring from an individual who dares to take the initiative in his own possible area of action. But individual acts of good will do not add up into social justice, any more than Mrs. Dexter's twenty discrete chapters add up to a meaningful evaluation of the current state of race relations. Her flashes of insight do not become a seamless web of explicit moral and social theory against which each separate case of "right race relations" can be judged with respect to its germinal implications. Good impulses do not invariably result in good effects. They may, in fact, simply awaken to violence the massive resistances to change that are rooted not in the human heart, but in the value structures of social organization to which individuals are dependently bound. Such would seem to be the case even with legal advances such as the Supreme Court decision concerning segregation in schools, which violates the "invisible line" which Mrs. Dexter has defined. The loving and cooperative impulses of the individual heart too often collide with the underlying competitive and arrogant premises of a society dependent on self interest alone to interlock its separate parts.

This same dichotomy between individual impulse and overall social value seems not entirely absent from Mrs. Dexter's view, and may not be entirely unrelated to the fact that her book, like our society, is not integrated. One finds among the other diverse items in her collection of facts, thoughts, and feelings such an example as the following of her implicit acceptance of what might be called the values of the marketplace, of our competitive business civilization. For example, in seeking to refute the assertion that non-whites depress market values in the area of housing, she describes one community where some thirty houses in an all-white area were appraised at market prices that ranged from \$2,200 to \$3,500. She continues,

"Then the area was opened to Negro purchasers and six months later the identical houses were valued up to \$5,500. According to the principle of supply and demand, if a neighborhood does not indulge in panic selling with the first purchase by a member of a minority group, values increase. The reasons are obvious. All large industrial cities are short on housing. In the interests of good business landlords and real estate agencies try to get the highest price possible for every house they sell. Because good housing for Negroes is at a premium—and because they have to live some place—they are forced to pay more for property than could be charged a white purchaser. So in practice, Negro buying frequently increases the sales price." (Bold mine.)

And so that's good business. Any sardonic note that may have been intended in this statement escaped me. This is just the way our economy works; whatever is, is right, as *Candide* would say.

Everything's
All Right
Here.



Conclusion

But it is at this point that my uneasiness about the title of this book, **What's Right With Race Relations**, comes clear. "What's Right" merely reminds me of what's wrong with our social order. Discrimination is not confined to race; injustice is not inflicted only upon the so-called minority groups. It is built into our social fabric. In a society where the dominant aim is unrelenting competition, scarcely less murderous now than it was in the days of so-called "rugged individualism," the only way the individual dares seek redress of wrongs is under the mantle of a union, a lobby, a race. If we can't substitute cooperation for competition, the only way the Negro can advance is by operating as a group. The promptings towards injustice and discrimination originate in the human heart, just as do the promptings towards justice and equality. We need a change of heart . . . but one which will give rise not only to insecure impulses, experiments from community to community that depend upon a chance power structure in which individuals inspired to justice are given a temporary foothold in an underlying mire of personal ambition and political maneuvering, but which will alter the basic assumptions of our society: which will make it no longer necessary for individuals to divide their spiritual from their practical aspirations, and will require the man of good will to be also a man of vision.

Such underlying assumptions are among our possessions as a society. In the thought of Whitman and Emerson and John Dewey, in the politics of Jefferson and Lincoln and Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt, there are evidences of a social inventiveness and audacious adventurousness which might well be drawn upon to create in the texture of society practical techniques, agencies, active traditions of cooperation into which the private gestures of the human heart could be channeled towards permanent effects. And among Mrs. Dexter's resources one finds the rhetoric that might have provided her book with organization and purpose, just as it might provide our social efforts with organization and purpose. Again and again she refers to the need for change. She believes that the acceptance of change can be a creative experience; she states this idea eloquently:

"The breakdown of any facet of a social order is a tragic experience to those who believe in the principles upon which the order is built. The breakdown is inexcusable to those who profit from the old order, whether they believe in it or not. It is inconvenient to those who prefer things as they are to the upheaval that accompanies change. And it is uncomfortable to those who would keep the imperfections of the known in preference to an uncertain better of the unknown. For those who find change an undesirable experience, the 1954 Supreme Court decision was a blast whose debris was expected to block progress in race relations for at least two generations to come. For those who find change a challenge the decision was also a blast, but one that would clear away the debris of past decades and open the way for greater progress. Only to the adventurous is change a challenge."

Perhaps, because it was necessary for us to conquer a continent in the literal physical sense, we came to identify adventure with self-aggrandizement and material progress. But the adventurousness of our time must lie in a different sphere. It must lie in the moral realm; we must depend upon the capacity of the human spirit to perceive principles and hold fast to them.

—Madeline Joyce Straight

TRUMBULL PARK Is Mediocre

TRUMBULL PARK, by Frank London Brown. (Henry Regnery Company, Chicago, 432 pages. \$3.95.)

IT IS HARD to believe that almost six years have passed since the first Negro family moved into Trumbull Park Homes, a public housing project on Chicago's Far South Side. Frank Brown's new book brings back many grim memories. **Trumbull Park** recounts the experiences of one of the early Negro tenants—actually a composite of several of them—for a period of about six months at the end of 1953 and the beginning of 1954. Chronologically, the story ends right around the time Brown himself moved into Trumbull Park.

As a staff member of the Chicago Commission on Human Relations at that time, I have some knowledge of many of the incidents described in the book. For this reason, when I first read it, I was quite critical of the numerous factual errors in it. On reflection, however, I decided to accept the book as it is classified by the publisher—a novel—and to judge it accordingly. At the same time, there are certain factual matters that I feel obliged to comment on, too.

As a novel, **Trumbull Park** is fair to mediocre. The writing is so artless, I doubt that many readers would finish the first chapter were it not for the social significance of the subject.

Characters Not Developed

The story is told in the first person by Louis "Buggy" Martin, who, as I mentioned, embodies characteristics of several of the Negro tenants, including Brown. Probably because of this, "Buggy's" personality never quite develops. The only one of the Negroes who is characterized faithfully is the one who moved in first, Donald Howard, called Arthur Davis in the book. Thus his portrayal is the most believable.

The author's deliberate effort to "capture" the "Negro idiom" is too obvious. I could not help but think of a much more talented Negro writer, Willard Motley, who found it possible

to make his mark in modern fiction without such devices.

In a situation that demands perception and insight, **Trumbull Park** contributes little. All the reader may see is the surface appearance of things within the narrow vision of "Buggy" Martin. The first person style is very unproductive unless used with considerable skill.

The Martins risk the consequences of moving to Trumbull Park because the Gardener Building on State Street was even less desirable—rats, filth, a baby falls from a broken porch and dies. "I know about the fires, the mobs, the broken windows," Helen Martin says. "But I want to get out of here!" On their first night in the project, they are initiated by a crowd gathering outside their apartment and a brick thrown through one of their windows.

Police Actions Explained

Despite the many acts of violence that occur, not one of the Negro tenants ever is injured. Yet they have nothing but contempt for the police protecting them. "Those . . . cops!" Arthur Davis says. "Could stop this if they wanted to."

Could they have? Possibly, by starting a shooting war. But what would that have accomplished? The police knew the people they were dealing with, and how strongly they were motivated. They knew that if they started shooting, the other side would return their fire, and that innocent people would be caught in the cross fire. They also knew that what happened at Trumbull Park could at any moment touch off any one of a dozen incendiary racial tension situations throughout the city. Their basic strategy, therefore, was to fight a containing action. Sure, it was hard on the Negroes' nerves, just as it was on the police themselves. But the wisdom of the strategy proved itself in its success. None of the Negroes was hurt (more than a score of policemen were), much less killed. And the disturbances never reached riotous proportions, as they easily could have if the police had act-



(Chicago Defender)

Police on Duty at Homes

ed imprudently; nor did they spread to other areas.

I don't blame the Negro tenants for their anti-police prejudice in Frank Brown's story. He makes not one reference to the arrest of a white person. But surely in the intervening six years he must have learned that, in the time covered in his novel, the police assigned to Trumbull Park arrested more than 230 white persons in connection with the disturbances. They were not all let off easy, either. The fines imposed totalled more than \$3,000.

False Impressions Corrected

This is a serious omission in a book on so important a subject. It gives the reader the impression that the police and city officials were completely derelict in their duty. This is so far from the truth that it is absurd. I know of no other city which has gone to the lengths that Chicago has in protecting the rights of Negroes to live in a public housing project, or, for that matter, to live anywhere. At times, as many as 1200 police were on the Trumbull Park detail. The costs of salaries alone for the six months of this operation was estimated at \$2,000,000.

There is another point along this line that needs clarification. Throughout the book, there are "bombs" exploding in Trumbull Park. The term, bomb, has a fairly definite meaning—a projectile containing a high explosive charge, which, when detonated, has a shattering effect. It usually is considered lethal. The ordinary reader must be horrified at the thought of the hundreds of "bomb" explosions recorded, and visualize Trumbull Park as a heap of ruins strewn with corpses. Actually, these "bombs"—called "aerial bombs"—are a type of fireworks, commonly used on the Fourth of July, without the lethal, shattering effect of real bombs. They made a lot of noise, but did little physical damage. They were a devilishly clever means of psychological warfare, though. My point in explaining this is that things at Trumbull Park were bad enough without picturing them as worse than they were. In the field of race relations, where distortion of fact can have such devastating effect, I think that this is a valid criticism.

I would not expect Frank Brown to write a documentary report on this sorry episode in Chicago's history—the Commission on Human Relations has done that. But I do expect of any writer who presents his work to the public a regard for fact in matters which have social impact. If **Trumbull Park** were accepted strictly as fiction, this would not be a problem. But I know from the reviews which have appeared in other papers that this is not the case. Therefore, I can only conclude that the author's obligation to represent life truly was not met.

—D. J. McNamara



Trumbull Park Homes



Demonstrators at Trumbull Park

Views

(Continued from Page 5)

That certainly is true, but we can effectively legislate against any form of discrimination in our citizenship. Once discrimination ends, prejudice declines."

Mr. McGill made the observation that Southern progress in the direction of peaceful integration has been obscured by the noise of episodes like that at Little Rock.

The editor characterized southern Negro colleges as "bridges of communication between the races."

Nashville, Tennessee—A group of Protestant ministers and church workers from six states said in a joint statement here that there is a "new and disturbing trend in the South" to link desegregation with subversion.

The statement protested what it called "the cynical attempt by some who oppose racial desegregation to label those who disagree with them as Reds, fellow travelers, or dupes of the Communist conspiracy."

"Through innuendoes, half-truths, and distortions," the protest continued, "doubts are cast on the motivation and background of individuals or groups seeking compliance with the law of the land."

The N.A.A.C.P., it was claimed, was the first victim of this trend. Later, those accused included educators, newspapermen, ministers, business men, attorneys—any white Southerner who attempted to work at this difficult problem.

"The goal is the same," went on the statement, "To silence those who do not accept the extremist position on segregation."

Princeton, New Jersey—Practical action to end segregation in housing has been taken by eleven Princeton ministers, according to the Rev. Richard H. Luecke, pastor of the Church of The Messiah and president of the Princeton Pastors Association.

Mr. Luecke disclosed that each of the pastors has committed himself to purchase common stock in a firm dedi-



cated to integrated housing, known as Modern Community Developers. The firm has a three-point program: (1) Furnishing builders and groups interested in building integrated housing with funds and guidance; (2) Building integrated housing itself where necessary; (3) Buying land and apartment houses for integrated living.

"Evidence of the gap between churchly resolutions and their translation into action is all too abundant," said Mr. Luecke. "Churchly resolutions break down when the church does not involve itself in practical steps toward their implementation."

Those who invested in the stock included heads of Baptist, Episcopal, Jewish, Methodist, Presbyterian and Unitarian congregations.

Charlotte, North Carolina—A group of Negro citizens has offered a reward for the arrest of the murderer of C. D. Campbell, a white grocer of Charlotte. A spokesman for the group stated that it was the first time that Negroes here have offered a reward in the slaying of a white man.

Campbell, it was said, extended credit to most of the area residents during the depression.

"He'd carry a man on the books for groceries and then give him \$10 to pay the rent," said one of the donors to the reward fund.

—Jean Hess

Lake Meadows Development Disproves Tipping Point Idea

(Continued from Page 1)

alysis grows out of conceptions popular in the real estate industry and commonly held in transitional or threatened neighborhoods. In view of its popularity and the possibility of its approval by people of influence, re-examination of this analysis of community transition becomes particularly important.

The basic argument for the existence of a fairly fixed level of tolerance is that no known community has ever reversed itself once the process of transition has begun in earnest. Here it is necessary for our purposes to distinguish between the terms "tip point" and level of tolerance.

Tip point will be used to indicate that minority percentage at which neighborhood change apparently becomes irreversible—without assigning a cause to that irreversibility. White level of tolerance to Negroes is one possible cause for the tipping when that percentage is reached. For Dr. Grodzins the particular cause—white level of tolerance—is assumed in his description of the effect—the tip point.

It is true that as yet there is no report in the literature of race relations of a community reversing the progress of change. The one way nature of this process is spelled out in an excellent study, *The Negro in Chicago* by Otis and Beverly Duncan, which Grodzins uses to support his thesis. And the thesis is supported by experience in many other parts of the country. The only difficulty with attributing level of tolerance as the cause is that there is one exception, a community of 1800 apartments called Lake Meadows.

Progressive Integration

Lake Meadows is a redevelopment project built in Chicago by the New York Life Insurance Company. It is located on 100 acres of land cleared by the government from the heart of the city's Negro slum. It contains five twelve story buildings with almost 600 apartments and four 21 story buildings with about 1200. A tenth building is now under construction. The first five buildings were 98 per cent Negro occupied when Lake Meadows' management decided to make a concerted effort to attract white tenants to the second group of buildings then under construction. Each of the newer buildings achieved a higher proportion of white tenants than had its predecessor. The four, now completed, have somewhat over 30 per cent white occupancy. The first five buildings continue almost all Negro and much of the surrounding area is still Negro slum.

Grodzins' idea of the level of tolerance for most communities is 20 to 25 per cent Negro. Of an interracial development near Philadelphia which has a guaranteed maximum of 45 per cent Negro occupancy, Grodzins said, "it is doubtful that many population groups, other than confirmed, egalitarian Quakers, would accept a ratio of Negroes at this high a point." But here we have an instance of a white population increasing from two per cent to 30 per cent. This is so far from the limits of white flexibility allowed by Grodzins as to raise important questions.

It can be said that there were special forces at work in Lake Meadows. This is certainly true, though the forces were not nearly as special as those in Concord Park, the Quaker development with guaranteed 45/55 occupancy. The special forces were that the management was willing to try, and to invest money in that effort, and that it was offering a marketable item. Management could not possibly have promised any ultimate white-Negro ratio. The best that could be promised was an interest in increasing white tenancy in order to broaden the potential mar-

ket. Management could do no better because nowhere else had such a radical racial disbalance been reversed.

And if the question of special circumstances is raised with Lake Meadows it should also be raised with other transition neighborhoods.

Self Confirming Hypothesis

One of the most significant special factors in most transition neighborhoods is undoubtedly the very popularity of the idea of the tip point. The importance of the self confirming hypothesis has gained increasing recognition in social analysis. Here we have a prime example. It is possible to grant that relatively few whites are willing to be alone in an otherwise Negro neighborhood. In doing so we are not hypothesizing anything else about level of tolerance. If you believe that a neighborhood will inevitably change when it passes n-per cent Negro occupancy and you don't want to be the only white in a Negro neighborhood, you will move as soon as you possibly can after there are n-per cent Negroes plus one.

Certainly the very idea of the tip point is not the basic cause of transition. The whole works cannot be blamed on Dr. Grodzins. However, the fact that the promulgation of this idea can help to prove its own rightness should make us very careful. This is the more true since Lake Meadows stands as a major objection to the adequacy of the idea.

If we begin to analyze the tipping mechanism in detail we find a variety of forces at work conducting toward change, many of which have no necessary relationship with a white community's level of tolerance to Negroes *per se*. Since our prediction of such a level of tolerance can be self proving it would seem that we would be wise to weigh the other factors before we attribute change to a purely hypothetical level of tolerance.

Other Forces Examined

Further, as a matter of policy, it would seem that our efforts at controlling the process of change should be directed toward reducing those change producing factors which don't require that a whole neighborhood be put on the analyst's couch. If we succeed in eliminating these other factors we may discover that psychoanalysis is

Notre Dame Hosts Liturgical Confab On August 23-26

THE TWENTIETH annual North American Liturgical Week will be held at the University of Notre Dame from August 23 to August 26. The general subject will be Lay Participation in Holy Mass, in the light of the Instruction on Sacred Music and the Sacred Liturgy issued by the Holy See last September.

Methods and motives for participation will be considered at the sessions, intended for priests, religious, and lay people. Each day Mass will be celebrated according to one of the ways prescribed and recommended by the Congregation of Rites for more fruitful worship by the faithful.

Accommodations will be provided at nominal charge. For information write to Father William Leonard, S.J., Boston College, Boston 67, Massachusetts.

In addition to the general sessions of Liturgical Week, there will be special afternoon sessions for parish priests of large and small parishes, for teachers in colleges, high schools, and elementary schools, for religious, for choir directors and organists, for family groups. There will also be a specialized institute for theologians.

—Warren Lehman

not necessary for as many people as Dr. Grodzins would lead us to assume.

What are those other factors?

First of all there are the promoters of transition. These are the people who come into a potentially transitional neighborhood and do their best to generate those forces which encourage change. They do this in order to make fees from transferring properties or to profit from speculative buying and reselling. This kind of operator continually solicits the transitional neighborhood, engendering fears in the white residents about the effects of Negro occupancy. Further, he is likely to transfer some properties to a type of person who will be unacceptable to the white residents by virtue either of his personal characteristics or his standard of property maintenance.



Secondly, there is a difference in market levels between the Negro and the white community. By virtue of the inadequate supply of housing for an expanding Negro community, Negroes pay higher rents and prices. In a rental area this difference has the effect of driving white people out. Landlords will naturally want to take advantage of the greater income allowed them with the advent of Negroes. Most whites are unwilling to pay this rent differential since they can get quarters of equal quality elsewhere at lower prices.

Thirdly, there are fears in the white community growing out of common conceptions of the personal habits of Negroes, the crime rate and so on. Lack of familiarity with the Negro class structure is at fault.

Fourthly, there are fears based on lack of understanding why, in some communities experiencing transition, property values go down, deterioration sets in and inundation follows. Unfortunately there is a tendency in dealing with those fears to pretend that there is no basis in experience for them. There are very real cases where these things have all happened according to the classical pattern. The problem in dealing with them is to describe, as we have been doing here in summary fashion, the special forces which produce those results. Once the forces are understood we are in a position to devise ways in which they can be corrected.

Conclusion

The limits of space prevent our considering the forces that conduce to deterioration in greater detail in this article. I hope, however, that this much of a suggestion will stimulate a more detailed examination of the process of community change.

One concluding remark: if we hypothesize an inflexible level of white tolerance to Negroes, our only alternatives in attempting to reduce segregation are laws and benevolent quotas. Obviously the political configuration of all major northern cities is not so liberal as that of New York and Pittsburgh. If nothing can be done to solve the problem of segregation without law and enforced quotas—which are unpalatable to many even if benevolent—the scope of our activity in the human relations field will be greatly restricted. I don't believe that the possibilities for action are as restricted as an inflexible level of tolerance would suggest. Let us not be blinded by an appealing idea to alternative theories and alternative forms of action.

COMMUNITY